

CAMPAIGN AGAINST
carF
RACISM & FASCISM

No 16 September/October 1993 80p

the undeclared war



- ▶ Battle lines of policing
- ▶ Jury trial under threat
- ▶ Deportation offensive

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Cover photos (from top to bottom): Zebulon Gooden (who had to wear a neckbrace after his arrest by east London police); Joy Gardner; Harold Carr (after his arrest by Camberwell police), courtesy of the *Voice*.

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EDITORIAL

There must be no more Joy Gardners. But while we move to ensure that the deportation squad who came to take her away, equipped with their medieval instruments of torture, are outlawed forever, we must also move swiftly to protect the hundreds of other deportees who await, now with added terror, the chilling blow of the final deportation order.

The European offensive against asylum-seekers and immigrants is taking on a whole new character. And that means our campaigns have to move up a gear.

What distinguishes the new European racism is an overall plan of repatriation which, forced or induced, takes on several forms. First, there are official government programmes – targeted at specific groups – of mass deportation. Already, Germany has expelled thousands of Roma back to Romania; in France, Interior Minister Pasqua can commandeer three coaches on every Marseilles-bound train to ship out deportees; in Switzerland, the green light goes up for the expulsion of Tamils.

Mass deportations are, in turn, backed-up by a system whereby asylum-seekers are subjected to legal procedures so degrading, and penal regimes so inhumane, that the conditions they initially fled seem that much more acceptable. And when, by chance, or by virtue of public protest, an asylum-seeker escapes such strictures, he or she is subjected to such vigorous passport checks and/or police inquiries as to keep them from social and welfare benefits and the bare necessities of existence.

In the face of this new onslaught, groups across Europe must adopt new strategies and forge new alliances. It is no longer a question of using the law to fight individual cases, but of defying laws which, like the Asylum Act and its sister laws across Europe, are directed against all immigrants and asylum-seekers.

The time for petitions and lobbies and polite requests of government is past. The anti-racist movement must move forward, must recognise that governments which welcome one little Irma while deporting thousands of others, are governments which will respond only to strong, concerted and large-scale action. ■

Campaign for citizenship rights

There has been a good response to our appeal in the last issue of CARF for a more coordinated campaign for citizenship rights across Europe.

Pauline Green, the leader of the European Parliamentary Labour Party, is circulating details of the campaign to the EPLP's Ethnic Minority Working Group to be discussed at its meeting in September in Strasbourg, and Christine Crawley, MEP for Birmingham East, who sits on the European Parliament's Civil Liberties Committee, will be raising parliamentary questions.

Socialist MEPs voiced their concern at the new French nationality laws in the Euro-Parliament in July when they sported stickers saying 'Check me – I'm a foreigner'.

The Berlin-based 'Referendum Doppelte Staatsbürgerschaft' has informed CARF that it has collected 700,000 signatures for its Campaign for Dual Citizenship. The campaign aims to collect at least 1 million signatures by placing adverts in newspapers and by the formation of locally-based committees to collect signatures on the streets and in workplaces. 'The daily mail and the completed petitions can hardly be handled by our office staff', it told CARF. 'We are optimistic that our 1 million target will be realised.'

Referendum Doppelte Staatsbürgerschaft, Oranienstrasse 25, 10999 Berlin, Germany.

Defying the repatriation plan

Having sealed the doors of the fortress, the agenda in Britain and Europe has now moved on to repatriation – forced or induced. CARF examines the new reality for immigrants and asylum-seekers and says the time has come for new methods of campaigning.

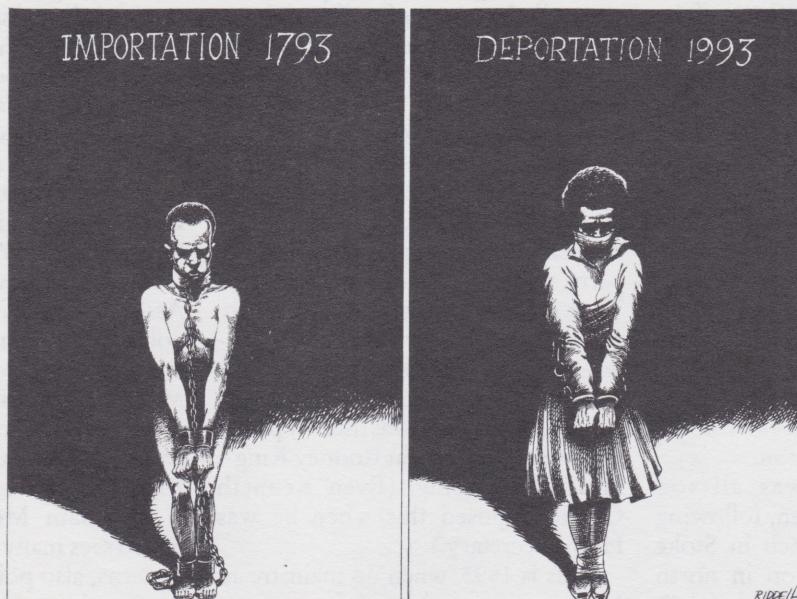
Since Joy Gardner's death, several other cases have come to light. Dorothy Nwokedi, now in Nigeria, says that eight immigration and police officers carried out a 'dawn raid' on her home on 9 July, taking her and her four-year-old daughter to Gatwick, and that she was handcuffed, gagged with wide tape and sat on and had her thumbs broken. She was not allowed to contact her ten-year-old daughter, and had to leave her behind.

One of the 'Haslar Ten' (see CARF no 15), was illegally taken to the airport for deportation two days after Mrs Gardner's death. When he stripped to his underwear in protest, immigration officers forcibly manacled him with plastic cuffs behind his back. During the struggle, his thumb was dislocated and he received injuries to his head and body. Police eventually intervened and took him to the police station, so that he missed his flight to Zaire. Immigration minister Charles Wardle initially denied that any force was used; later the Home Office said that no 'excessive' force had been used but agreed to have an internal inquiry into the events. Meanwhile, the man is back in prison.

The Stop the Detentions Action Group knows of two other recent cases of attempted illegal deportation of asylum-seekers. One man, taken to the airport for 'interview', was told when he arrived that his asylum claim had been refused and he was to be deported straight away. By phoning his girlfriend, he was able to prevent the unauthorised removal. Another Zairean man was not so lucky.

'Scroungers and illegals'

Alongside this government offensive has come a media campaign to depict



immigrants and asylum-seekers as illegals and scroungers. Take, for example, the outrageous press coverage of the death of Joy Gardner. A woman with a child born here and parents here, she would have been treated with sympathy had she been white. But the media placed her character, and not British racism, in the dock, by paying her husband ('I'm not willing to say anything for less than £5,000') to give them the 'dirt' on Joy.

That was not all. The media also transformed the police involved – who were speaking via an anonymous 'intermediary' – into victims (one officer was badly bitten; he could have got AIDS).

'Our family are not rubbish', said Mrs Simpson, Joy Gardner's mother. But the press message was that the life of Joy Gardner was worthless. What mattered was, according to an editorial in the *Daily Star*, 'Our Rights'. 'If people have no right to be in our country, we must be able to send them back. Whether they like it or not.'

The *Daily Star*'s message was reiterated by Teresa Gorman, Tory MP for Billericay. 'She had been buming on the social services for five years ... she had cost the taxpayer an enormous amount ... If she had gone quietly, none of this would have happened.'

New strategies

In the face of similar occurrences throughout Europe, anti-racist groups are adopting new strategies and forging new alliances. For instance, in Bremen, a coalition of groups has taken imaginative actions against the detention of refugees in underground bunkers, container lorries and barracks. During a day of action, empty properties were occupied around the city, to draw attention to

possible accommodation for refugees. In another protest, the windows of the main social security office in the city were plastered with wallpaper to deprive the workers inside of natural light – which mirrors the conditions in which asylum-seekers – including whole families – are kept.

The German churches are trying to move beyond giving sanctuary to distressed individuals, to organise regional coordination.

In Britain, where the appeal court recently ruled that local authorities should report 'illegals' to the Home Office, the Lambeth Unemployed Action Group (UAG) is seeking to put the issue of passport checks and the new social security rules targeting claimants from abroad on to the agenda of unemployed centres and unions, to create a national campaign. UAG recently occupied the Oval jobcentre and unemployment benefit office. Ray Barker told CARF: 'All new claimants are being asked how long they have lived here, whether they were born here, and we have been told that the target is to refuse 10%. The idea is just to save money, but the Tories are giving the BNP ammunition by saying that black people are coming here and scrounging. We have been leafleting the benefit office to warn the public.'

UAG, c/o LU&TURC, 12-14 Thornton St, London SW9. Tel: 071-733 5136. SDAG, 18 Spillman's Rd, Rodborough, Stroud, Glos. Tel: 0453-764 559

Battle-lines of policing in London

The police are creating tensions throughout the capital. CARF investigates.

In Hornsey, reaction to the violent death of Joy Gardner, during her arrest by the Extradition Unit SO1(3) of the Metropolitan police, was swift. A 400-strong picket of Hornsey police station, a public meeting and a demonstration were held within days. At the same time as Commissioner Condon was moving to deflect protest by suspending the officers involved, and ordering a review of the deportation unit, police-planted stories were appearing in the *Evening Standard* and other papers, putting across the views of the suspended officers (backed by the Police Federation), vilifying Joy Gardner, and warning of 'riots' at the forthcoming demonstration.

For CARF, this was all too reminiscent of 1983 when, following the death of Colin Roach in Stoke Newington police station in north London, exactly the same kind of slurs and innuendoes began to appear in the *Evening Standard*.

In that period, the Greater London Council Police Unit was calling for

greater police accountability, its monthly magazine, *Policing London*, was collating cases of police violence across the capital, and some Labour authorities even refused to pay the police precept or to sit on police consultative committees.

But, wait, this is 1993... Just a whiff of words like 'police accountability' is enough to send Labour party councillors scuttling. And it is Labour party shadow home secretaries, not Tory ministers, who are rapturously received at Police Federation conferences and who even go so far as to call for the introduction of the lethal US-style long baton—as used by police in Los Angeles to beat Rodney King—into UK policing. (Even Kenneth Clarke opposed this when he was Home Secretary.)

This is 1993, when no mainstream Labour party politician is going to depart from the cosy consensus talk of the 'fight against crime' to link the death of Joy Gardner to the actions of police officers on the streets.

Excessive violence 'routine'

Over the past month, CARF has received disturbing reports of police violence throughout the capital. In a very real way, policing in London is reverting to the worst excesses of the 1980s. There is widespread stop and search, carried out in a racist and offensive way, and increased use of road blocks, justified in the name of the fight against 'IRA terrorism'.

The Hackney Community Defence Association received 14 complaints of police violence in the weeks prior to and following Joy Gardner's death. Most of the cases it has taken up involve police violence towards those making complaints about police behaviour when they make arrests.

Newham Monitoring Project, which sees many of the same policing patterns, also points to an increase in provocative raids on black people's homes. 'There are more serious injuries to those arrested by the police', says Hossein Zahir. The Project is presently highlighting the



David Hoffman

Protests outside Hornsey police station in north London after the death of Joy Gardner

case of Zebulon Gooden, who received head injuries and had to wear a neckbrace after his arrest for disorderly conduct – a charge he disputes – in East Ham in April.

Two other recent cases involve alleged thuggery by London police. The Camden Racial Equality Council is helping an African-Caribbean woman, Rita Porter, to take a civil action against the police following her arrest at the Kentish Town branch of the London Electricity Board. It is claimed that the behaviour of the police, who were called after an argument developed about an emergency connection of electricity, was so disgusting that it provoked several eye-witnesses to lodge formal complaints and to contact the *Camden New Journal*. Up to eight police officers cleared the LEB offices of people, and effected a forcible arrest. Eye-witnesses say they separated Rita from her 3-month-old baby, wrestled her to the ground, and handcuffed her, even though her right wrist was in a splint.

In Lewisham, 40-year-old Harold Carr is still recovering from his ordeal at the hands of six Camberwell police officers who, he says, made a forcible entry into his house, and violently arrested him, after he refused to pay a £140 fine for a TV licence. Horrified eye-witnesses told the *Voice* newspaper that they could not believe their eyes when the police dragged Mr Carr from his home and violently beat him. For several days after the incident, Mr Carr's eyes would not stop bleeding.



The Royal Commission: a miscarriage of justice

The Royal Commission on Criminal Justice, which reported in July, was set up when the Birmingham 6 were released from 16 years of wrongful imprisonment. While the commission was deliberating, further shocking miscarriages of justice came to light, many of them involving black people. But the commission has not strengthened people's rights in the police station and in the courts. Instead, its proposals are aimed at rationalising the criminal justice system so as to save money. This will do nothing less than institutionalise injustice.

Its proposals include:

- taking away people's right to opt for a jury trial; instead, leaving magistrates to decide whether a jury will be used. Black people, in particular, opt for jury trials, having more faith in a jury than in magistrates.
- formalising 'plea bargaining', whereby the sooner someone pleads guilty, the shorter their sentence. Under such a system, more pressure will be put on innocent people to plead guilty. Researchers warned the commission that they are particularly concerned about what will happen to black people if plea bargaining is introduced.
- allowing police to carry on questioning a suspect after they have been charged. Charging has always been regarded as the clear line after which the onus is on the prosecution to make its case, not on the suspect and defence to clear themselves.
- requiring the defence to disclose the outline of its case. Again, this places an onus on the defence, especially as the prosecution is required only to disclose all materials 'relevant' to the case. Miscarriage of justice cases have often been

overturned after defence lawyers have got hold of evidence (supposedly not 'relevant') previously suppressed by the police and prosecution.

- increasing the range of samples obtainable from suspects without their consent (eg, saliva, 'plucked' hair). If a suspect is unwilling, getting such samples must involve force.

The commission did not make proposals on crucial areas, for example:

- strong safeguards and sanctions against police abuse. Yet it is within the police that, over and over again, the roots of miscarriages of justice are located.
- people should not be found guilty of an offence solely on an uncorroborated confession. Yet false and fabricated confessions have been the source of many miscarriages of justice.
- confessions not tape-recorded or made in the presence of a solicitor be inadmissible. Yet these are exactly the situations when suspects are most vulnerable.
- suspects held under the Prevention of Terrorism Act be given the same rights as any others.

As far as 'racial' issues are concerned – the commission cannot bring itself to use the word 'racism' – it proposes that black defendants should have the right to have some black people in the jury – but only in very particular, and undefined, circumstances. Otherwise what is needed is – wait for it – more research and 'ethnic' monitoring. Thus, it has turned its back on all the evidence, some of it from its own research, which shows again and again that black people fare worse at every step in the criminal justice system.

Out of control?

Should we see more in these incidents than just a small group of London officers out of control? According to groups like HCDA, which has campaigned against racism and corruption at Stoke Newington police station, something has changed. 'The Royal Commission turned the focus away from the crimes of the police to crime in the community, and it is this that has created the climate where the police can vent their frustrations without fear', a HCDA spokesperson told CARF.

Lee Bridges of the Public Law Project agrees, but also points to other trends. 'On the one hand, there is a sense that rank and file officers,

frustrated by tape-recording and other safeguards inside the police station, are letting their racism hang out on the streets. But this is happening with a greater intensity now, because the police's privileged professional status is under threat.'

Battle lines

Lee Bridges and other commentators perceive that a massive power struggle is going on inside the police. On one side is ranked the Police Federation (backed by many chief constables), determined to protect its members from rationalisation, fixed-term contracts and performance-related pay (all recommendations of the recent Sheehy report). On the other side stands the

Home Office and a new managerial class of top policemen, who cannot afford publicly to support Sheehy and his backers, but privately agree with much of the government's vision for policing in the 1990s.

It is a vision that entails accepting that the police should have a diminished role in fighting crime at a local level. Freeing the police from local concerns allows policing strategy to be focused toward national issues. And the basis for a new national police force will be an improved computerised system of intelligence gathering (hence Condon's assertion, when he took office, that paid informants and police infiltrators would, in future, be the cornerstone of policing strategy) leading to large-scale organised police operations.

In the event, this will mean that protecting local communities from some of the crimes that affect them can be tendered out to private firms. Another proposal (likely to be implemented in any new Police Act) is for businessmen to have a seat on local police authorities, displacing an equal number of elected councillors.

As in the 1980s, when the rank and file officer, backed by the Police Federation, was bitterly opposed to Lord Scarman's recommendations on 'community policing', seeing it as a 'softly softly' approach, the Police Federation is bitterly opposed to any changes in police structure, fearing that it will lead to a smaller force, and a more middle-class university-educated professional police elite. And the Police Federation's attempt to protect its rank and file officers from all this, is leading to a battle to win public support, often taking place via the media.

CARF believes that much of the present media hype about vigilantism is government or police inspired. Public opinion, it would seem, is being moulded to accept the notion that alternatives to the police – like, for example, the patrolling of estates and communities by private security firms – are necessary and desirable. Home Secretary Michael Howard also wants to channel some of the so-called country 'vigilante committees' into policing. His announcement that he wants to resurrect the old-style parish

constable, 'local figures of authority, appointed by a parish council for a fixed term', was greeted with derision by the Police Federation.

There is something deeply amusing about seeing Police Federation spokesmen resisting Sheehy's proposals (which could perhaps get rid of corrupt police officers) by arguing that you can't measure police performance by clear-up rate alone and talking about all the wonderful things the police do for the community. It's easy, from this perspective, to stick two fingers up at the police.

But there is a very serious battle ahead for those of us concerned with police racism and accountability. This doesn't mean siding with the Police Federation against the Sheehy Report. But it does mean being aware that, should the privatisation of certain aspects of policing go ahead, the fight for local police accountability is lost. Who will be responsible for vetting private security firms for racist recruits? To whom do we complain when these firms deny us our civil liberties? Will the Home Secretary extend his



M25 THREE FIGHT ON: The convictions of Raphael Rowe, Michael Davis and Randolph Johnson (the M25 Three) for murder and burglary were upheld by the Court of Appeal on 29 July. After examining witness evidence which stated that two of the three attackers were white, Lord Justice Watkins ruled that there was not 'even a lurking doubt' about the convictions of the three black men. Watkins' previous Appeal Court record includes quashing the conviction of a policeman for raping a black woman in his car. The solicitor for the men called the judgment 'an absurdity in logic and fact' and, in the lead-up to the House of Lords appeal, the campaign will continue to press for the convictions to be quashed. (M25 Campaign new address: 75 Scylla Road, Peckham Rye, London SE15 3PB, tel: 071-732 2578.)

admiration for the vigilantes in the shires to the Drummond Street 4? How will black communities, subject to racial violence, fare from private security firms?

The situation may be pretty terrible at the moment, but at least there is some sort of system which we can see,

manoeuvre around and campaign against. Privatisation replaces an identifiable system with too many grey areas. Following Condon's announcement that the police's role in deportations is to be reviewed, there is speculation that expulsions could, in future, be carried out by Group 4. But

who is Group 4 accountable to? In the tragic event of another Joy Gardner, where can a local community direct its protests?

And where will we go for justice and accountability when the private security firms, the army of alternative police forces, step out of line? ■

The CARF interview

CARF talks to leading black barrister Courtenay Griffiths

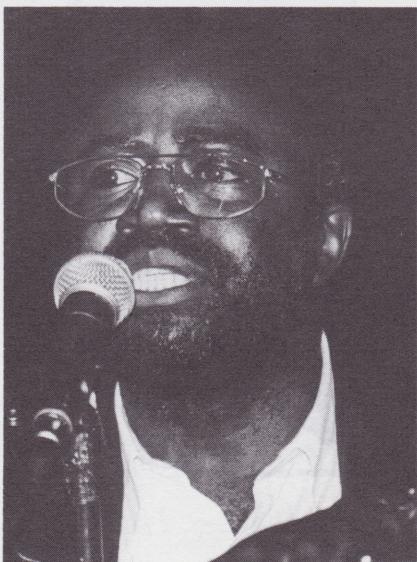
CARF: You are a prominent black lawyer, and an activist. How does this fit together?

CG: The motivating force is that I'm black. That's where I come from. One of the reasons for wanting to become a lawyer, as a black person, was precisely because the law offered a way of righting certain wrongs which had historically been done to us. For a poor black man, the law offers avenues to a certain kind of economic stability and a certain amount of power in terms of prestige. But, the minute I step out of the court door, I am just another potential criminal. One always has to have the knowledge of that initial starting point.

I think it's important constantly to retain a link between your role as lawyer and your black persona. The relationship of the black man as a lawyer to the black community is crucial. As far as I'm concerned, I have a certain skill to offer black and poor communities – my legal skills. And, to that extent, I am no more than a mercenary. But equally, what I have over many of my contemporaries is the extent of my experience and my history and a culture that enables me to connect technical knowledge with the real emotion and feeling of people. And that only comes from knowing constantly what your roots are.

CARF: Do you see the law as the only real means to effect change?

CG: The law is not the only means to effect change, neither should it be the main means. It's one of a number of options. Given the way that this particular western society is structured, the criminal justice system has become a site where certain conflicts are being waged between poor and black communities and the state. Black



cricket commentator on Radio 3. Those are the two acceptable personae. Anything after that, whether you are black or white, means you don't fit. But, in addition, blacks have the problem in the criminal justice system that they are always standing on one side of the dock.

It's important that black people do figure in the criminal justice system, not just as barristers or solicitors, but also as judges and senior judges. I personally don't want to be a judge – I want to be there, in the thick of it, because I enjoy it. But the left-wing argument that to become a judge is to ally yourself to the system which we, as people of the Left, should be opposed to, I think is complete nonsense. The very fact of being a lawyer already sets you apart, makes you part of an elite. People from different political backgrounds ought to be developing and shaping the future course of the common law, not only as advocates but also as judges.

CARF: As a member of the Society of Black Lawyers, what do you say to accusations that it is becoming elitist itself – for example, by having its anniversary dinner at the Dorchester?

CG: I am a supporter of the SBL, it does important work. In the past, it has organised functions in Brixton and Brent and places like that. On its twenty-fifth anniversary, it decided to use the Dorchester. Now even the Bar Council wouldn't stretch its budget as far as the Dorchester. But the SBL feels it necessary to choose the Dorchester and charge people over £50 per head; the fact of the matter is that most black lawyers aren't earning that kind of money. My question to the organisers would be: what is this sense of insecurity that causes the SBL to choose such a venue? ■

CARF: There are more black people entering the profession than ever before. Is this hope for the future?

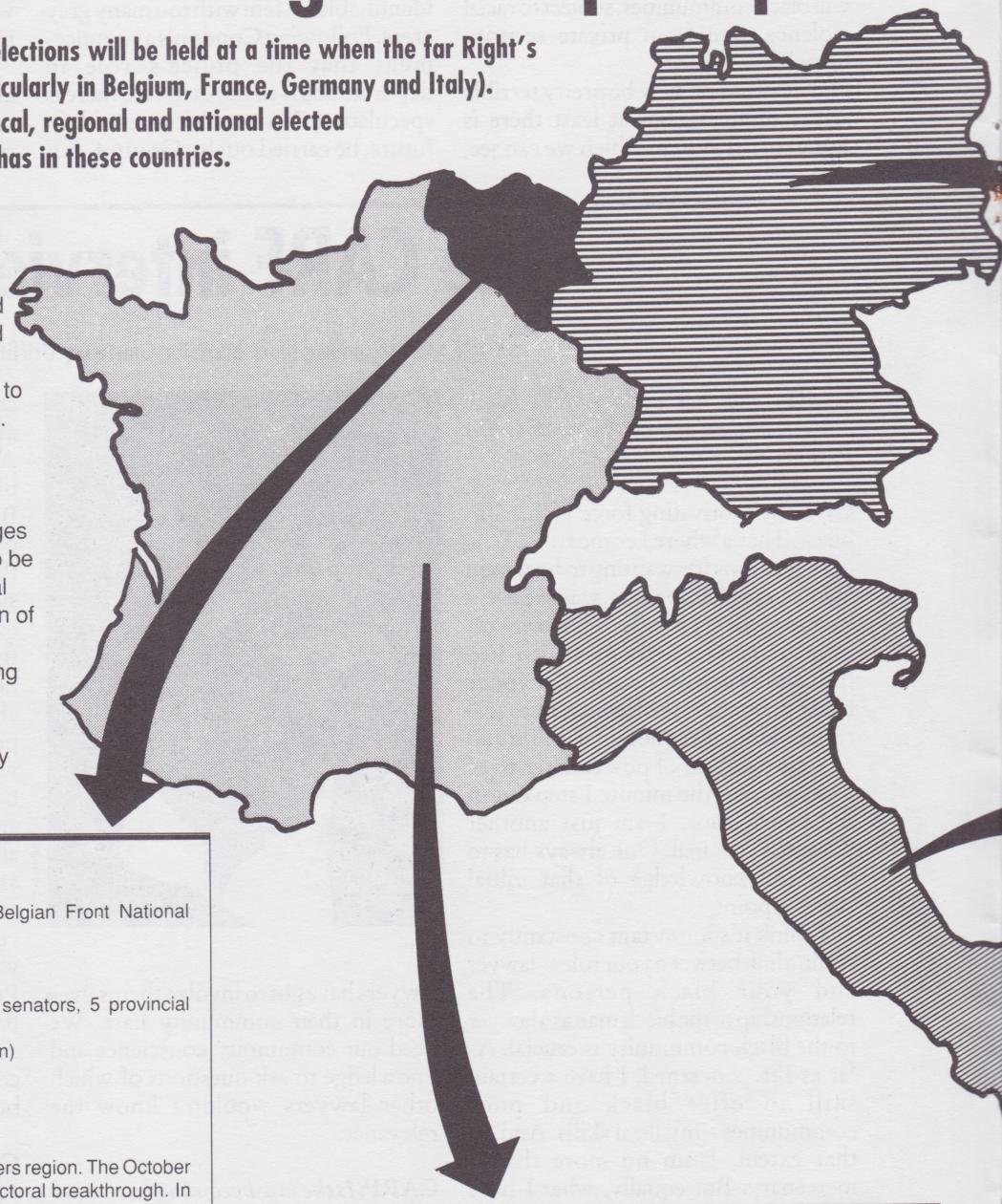
CG: There are barristers with dulcet public school tones, and barristers with the plummy voice of Ian Johnson,

The far Right: building its European power b

Next June's European Parliament elections will be held at a time when the far Right's electoral strength is growing (particularly in Belgium, France, Germany and Italy). CARF gives a brief survey of the local, regional and national elected representatives that the far Right has in these countries.

What elected representation means to the far Right

- **Money:** Access to public funds and publicly-funded resources to be used for political campaigning.
- **Recruitment and growth:** Access to local, regional and national networks.
- **Publicity:** Access to local, national and international media.
- **Power and influence:** Gaining a single seat for a racist party encourages other established right-wing parties to be more racist. Far-right control of a local authority means direct implementation of overt racist measures.
- **Legitimacy and protection:** Having representatives gives a platform to racism and fascism which then becomes both legitimised and legally protected.



BELGIUM

Far-right parties Vlaams Blok (VB), Belgian Front National (BFN)

MEPs VB one

National parliament VB 12; BFN 1

Other elected representatives VB: 6 senators, 5 provincial councillors, 23 municipal councillors.

Share of the vote (1991 general election)

Nationally: VB 6.6%; BFN 1.1%

Flanders region: VB 10.3%

Antwerp Province: VB 16.7%

Antwerp City: VB 25.5%

Local bases Antwerp City and the Flanders region. The October 1988 local elections gave VB its first electoral breakthrough. In Antwerp City, it won 10 municipal seats (it also won 42 seats on district councils within the city). Another 13 seats were won in towns and cities close to Antwerp in the Flanders region. From this local base, the VB was able to build up the level of support it achieved in November 1991. Indications are that support has continued to grow since then, and success in the European elections could lead to yet greater gains for the VB in the local elections in autumn 1994.

FRANCE

Far-right party Front National (FN)

MEPs 10

National parliament None

Other elected representatives 239 regional councillors, 804 municipal councillors.

Share of the vote

Regional elections March 1992: 13.9% (3,396,141)

Parliamentary elections March 1993: 12.5% (3,158,843)

Local bases The FN has several local electoral bases solidified by concentrations of local representatives in either a local or regional council. For instance, in March 1992, the FN won 34 of the 123 regional council seats in the Provence-Alpes Côte d'Azur region. These local bases stood it in good stead a year later in the general election. In areas where it polled well in 1992 (eg, the Ile-de-France region, which includes Paris), the FN vote was only slightly down in 1993. Despite not gaining any seats, the FN did better than ever before in terms of votes at a parliamentary election. The regional/local councils are providing an alternative-electoral/political base to parliament for the FN. There is every reason to suppose that this local base will serve a similar role in the European elections, where the PR voting system could translate 3 million votes into a number of seats.



GERMANY

Far-right parties Deutsche Liga; Deutsche Volksunion (DVU); Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands (NPD); Die Republikaner (REP).

MEPs 6 (originally all REP. Due to splits, now 1 REP, 1 Deutsche Liga, the rest formally unaffiliated).

National parliament 1 REP (defection from CDU 1993)

Other elected representatives (Note: There are 16 regional states in Germany. Each has two separate elections, one for the regional parliament, the other for local councils.)

Regional parliaments: *Bremen:* 6 DVU out of 100 MPs, DVU vote 22,878 (6.2%) (September 1991 election); *Schleswig-Holstein:* 6 DVU out of 89 MPs, DVU vote 93,295 (6.3%) (April 1992 election); *Baden-Wurttemberg:* 15 REP out of 146 MPs, REP vote 539,014 (10.9%) (April 1992 election); *Bayern:* No seats won, REP vote 538,615 (4.9%) (October 1990 election); *Berlin:* No seats won, REP vote 62,041 (3.1%) (December 1990 election).

Local councils: The DVU and NPD have very few councillors. The DVU, with 20 out of 458 seats in the Bremen region, has the most significant concentration. The REP has 370 councillors in eight states, only 0.5% of the seats available.

Local bases In addition to the three state parliaments with fascist MPs, the concentrations of the 370 REP councillors provide limited local bases. For instance, in the Hessen state local elections in March 1993, the REP won 36 of 387 town council positions; 10 of these were in the principal city of Hessen, Frankfurt, where the city council has 93 members. In West Berlin in the May 1992 local elections, the REP won nearly 10% of the seats in local councils. Therefore, mindful of the large-scale regional variations, we can say that fascist electoral parties have small bases in at least five regional states: Baden-Wurttemberg, Bremen, Berlin, Hessen and Schleswig-Holstein. With the most significant fascist electoral gains having come in the last two years, it is very probable that the REP, at least, will be in a position to use its local bases in the European elections and in the national elections due in autumn 1994.

ITALY

Far-right parties Movimento Sociale Italiano-Destra Nazionale (MSI-DN); Northern League
MEPs MSI 4; Northern League 2 (last elections 1989).

National parliament MSI 35; Northern League 55 (last elections April 1992).

Regional councils In August 1993, the Northern League gained joint control of its first regional council, Friuli-Venezia-Giulia in north-eastern Italy, through an alliance with other parties.

Municipal councils In the extreme south of Italy, in the local/mayoral elections of June 1993, the MSI-DN gained control of nine small community councils, with a further 16 effectively controlled by the far Right. (The fascists had not had control of any local authority since 1945!) In the north, the Northern League gained control of the principal cities (with the exception of Turin), including Vercelli, Lecco, Novara, Pavia, Pordenone, Gorizia and, most significant of all, Milan.

Share of the vote In 1987, the Northern League could only muster enough votes to win one seat in parliament, while the MSI gained 35. Two years later, the League could win only two seats in the European parliament against the MSI's four. Since then, the League's vote has grown enormously in the wake of the anti-corruption scandals. By the 1992 general election, it had attracted 8.7% of the national vote, taking 24% of the vote in Lombardy in the north. This year's local elections, though they involved only one-quarter of the electorate, confirmed the electoral growth of the League and gave it unprecedented local power.

While the MSI's vote has declined slightly (from 5.9% in 1987 to 5.4% in 1992), in some localities it has registered significant gains (eg, Naples in 1992, the far south in 1993). Reform of the PR system would appear to favour larger parties (of which the Northern League is now one). The MSI hopes to compensate for any losses by the introduction of voting rights for overseas Italians.

Local bases Local authorities controlled by the far and fascist Right have already used their power against 'immigrants'. With a general election expected in the next few months, the councils under far-right control could serve as a springboard for the MSI and the Northern League. It is clear that while the MSI is viewed as fascist, the League, despite its racism, is treated as a legitimate party (even by the Left), with whom alliances and pacts can be made. With the fluid situation in party politics, some are speculating that, by next June's European elections, the League could be a major component of the national parliamentary opposition.

Build mass opposition

The continued success of the far Right is by no means a foregone conclusion. In Italy, the Northern League is a fissiparous regionalist protest movement led by racists. In Germany, the fascists are split and quarrelsome. Even in France, where the fascist movement appears solid, the Front National is for ever flaking. One key ingredient in the growth of European fascism has been the absence of effective mass opposition. If, in the midst of the political turmoil of the next few months, a militant anti-racist, anti-fascist movement can be made to work together, the trend of fascists' growing abuse of democratic representation can be halted and reversed.

From NF to Tory

It's official, Mark Cotterill, the previous south-west organiser of the National Front, is a member of the Conservative party. The Torbay Racism Monitoring Group has been saying this all along. They report:

After the 1992 general election, Mark Cotterill, the south west area organiser of the National Front, resigned stating that its 'votes were appalling and in my local area Torbay it was a disaster'. Shortly afterwards came the launch of the Patriotic Forum and the magazine *British Patriot*, which described itself as reflecting 'current patriotic conservative opinion in Great Britain and Northern Ireland'.

The magazine's editor was Mark Cotterill and many of the Forum's leading members were connected with the Torbay Branch of the NF: secretary Keith Jowsey was a Midlands NF organiser in the late 1970s, while Forum chair Ian Loram signed the nomination papers for the NF's general election candidate. The Forum's concerns were fairly similar to the defunct Torbay NF and its PO box and telephone numbers were the same as those used by the NF between 1985 and 1992. Predictably, Mark Cotterill denies that there is any link between the NF and the Forum.

Local anti-racists were not surprised to find that local fascists re-formed after the collapse of the NF. It seems that, at least in the south west, the more violent street activists have moved to the BNP, while those that see themselves as 'respectable' racists have set up anti-European groups as a front for their nationalism. What did surprise local anti-racists was that, within weeks of the demise of the NF, Cotterill and others were claiming that they were members of the Tory party. The Tories denied this for a year but, on 12 August, they 're-checked party records' and admitted that he was a member, but said they now believed Cotterill to hold 'broad Tory views'.

The Torbay Racism Monitoring Group was pleased to provide the press with information on Forum members and internal Forum documents which prove that Cotterill and his colleagues were fascists and are still fascists.

● In 1991, Cotterill led the NF contingent to the neo-Nazi rally in Dixmuide, Belgium, where he abused black people and Jews (*Guardian*, 21.9.91).

● Articles in the *British Patriot* have advocated 'ethnic cleansing' of 'non-white immigrants', supported the banned terrorist UDA, and vilified gay people as AIDS carriers.

That fascists and racists want to infiltrate political parties is no real surprise. What is surprising is that the Conservative Party should not be aware of who it is letting in and is naive enough not to care.

In our opinion, this all indicates that many local south-west Conservative associations are demoralised by national events, and are disorganised and split on issues such as Europe. In these conditions, infiltration is a real danger. We have also heard that the far Right is encouraging its members to relocate to the south west, an area it promotes as 'the last white part of England'.

Minicabbing: a high price to pay

Anger is still running high in Birmingham's black community over the murder of taxi-driver Ashiq Hussain. There have been too many similar deaths. CARF investigates.

In July, Mark Jarvis, a known racist, was convicted of manslaughter – for the killing of Ashiq Hussain, a 21-year-old minicab-driver, and sentenced to five years. Ashiq, who was stabbed to death after going to the aid of another cab-driver who was being racially abused, was one of six Asian cab-drivers to be murdered in the last 18 months.

Minicab driving is now one of the most dangerous jobs for black people. If, in the 1950s and '60s, black people risked life and limb by having to work in foundries, mills and plants where safety conditions were non-existent and industrial injuries commonplace, today, their children are being forced into the solitary, high-risk job of minicabbing.

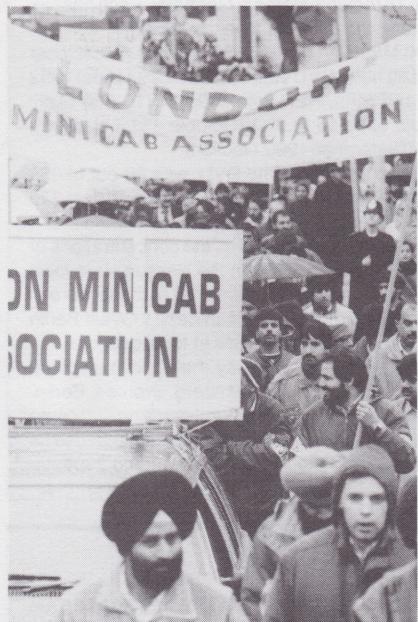
'My family came to Britain from Pakistan to work in the mills', explained Arif. 'When they began to reduce the wages and gradually closed down, many in my family turned to driving cabs.' He, too, drives a minicab on Friday and Saturday nights to supplement his income and support the family.

A dangerous job

The collapse of the textile industry has forced young Asians from Bradford and Wakefield into minicabbing. In Sheffield the decline of steel has had a similar effect. Many young Asian men take up cabbing because it needs little capital outlay. 'All you need is a car and a driving licence', Sheffield cabby Abdul told CARF. 'The price you pay is working long and unsocial hours, difficult customers arguing over fares and, on top of that, the racist shit – there is constant racist abuse and often physical attack. But it's the only way I can make a living.'

Abdul's father, aged 56, who was forced to take retirement as a result of emphysema and asthma brought on by 20 years in the steel works, is not happy at his son's employment. 'Most evenings my Dad sits at home wondering if I will make it home that night', explains Abdul.

Attacking an Asian cab-driver is where ordinary white racist lads are in their element. The driver is alone with maybe three or four drunken racists, often carrying knives and more than



SMG

ready 'to bash a Paki'. Arif told CARF: 'There are some areas where Asian cab firms will just not go, real no-go areas for black people because of the racism, like parts of south Leeds. Last year, I took four whites into a white area. During the journey they started with "You should be doing this for free after all we've done for you" and "Go home Paki". A few minutes later, they had a cheese wire round my neck and were threatening to burn my cab.' Another driver in Wakefield nearly died after being stabbed 13 times by a local racist, thrown in the boot of his car and abandoned in a forest.

Last year in Manchester, the murder of Mohammed Sarwar became the focus of a vigorous community campaign. The 46-year-old cab-driver was dragged out of his car and battered to death. His blood-drenched body was left in the middle of the street while the murderers casually drove around before setting the car alight.

Police harassment

Most drivers don't bother to report attacks, since perpetrators are rarely caught. The police response to attacks has usually meant that they become part of the problem rather than part of the solution. When an Asian taxi-driver was assaulted by racists shouting 'Sieg Heil' in Beeston, Leeds, in August, it took the police two hours

to answer a call for help, and they then arrested two Asian youths.

For Tony, who runs a cab firm in east London, the police are a 'big problem'. 'They harass drivers from our firm. If you carry a weapon to protect yourself you'll always be stopped by police in a "routine check".' It was during one such check that Mohammed Nazir died of a heart attack in Slough on 6 August. Witnesses claimed that police were 'inhuman, badly behaved and unsympathetic', and insisted on completing the check before allowing him to have medical treatment.

Organising against violence

In Burnley, cabbies have fought back against police harassment. Last December, when racists attacked cab-drivers with bottles after a football match, drivers radioed for help. The police arrived and proceeded to arrest 10 Asians. Angry drivers responded by besieging the police station for four hours.

In 1989, Southall was outraged at the murder of taxi-driver Kuldeep Singh Sekhon by Stephen Coker, a racist who had been involved in other racist attacks in the area. On the day of the funeral, the whole of Southall came to a standstill as shops closed and local workers and residents joined other cab-drivers, black organisations and Mr Sekhon's family in the funeral procession.

In Newham, the murder of Fiaz Mirza earlier this year has provoked local outrage in the black community and cab firms throughout the borough are raising money for his family.

'Official minicab associations are not interested in dealing with specifically racist attacks. All we have for protection is our CB radio', said Arif, explaining the frustration of black cab-drivers. 'Now younger Asians are getting into cabbing and there is more militancy, more of a feeling that we won't put up with attacks any longer. So drivers support each other – there is an emergency signal that we can say into our radios and other cabbies will be on the scene within a few minutes.'

'We are stuck in these jobs. The police won't act, there'll be more murders. All we have is self-defence'.

INQUEST

■ Unlawfully killed

On 27 July, the jury at a reconvened inquest took 25 minutes to decide that Zairean asylum-seeker Omasase Lumumba had been unlawfully killed by prison officers using 'improper methods and excessive force in the process of "control and restraint".

Omasase Lumumba came to the UK in August 1991 seeking political asylum (see CARF 11 and 13). He was arrested in strange circumstances on 15 September and transferred to Pentonville prison on 20 September. Eighteen days later he was dead.

On the day of his death, Omasase had been on the way to the hospital block when he demanded to see a doctor. Perceived as disobeying orders, he was taken by force under 'control and restraint' to a strip cell in the punishment block where he was lain on his stomach, his arms pinned against him, his legs held down and his head held sideways against the floor. As he was forcibly stripped of his clothing using scissors, Omasase began to struggle. This, according to officers, meant that extra force was needed because he managed to lift four officers off the floor, two with his arms, one with his head (this officer was 17½ stone) and a fourth with his legs.

At the request of the jury, a control and restraint team was called to give a demonstration. According to the team, a maximum of four officers would be involved in an operation: in Lumumba's case, there were six officers involved.

The team also stated that if a prisoner attempted to struggle violently against the restraints, there was a strong likelihood that he would seriously injure himself.

The only independent witness to what happened in the strip cell that day was a prisoner in the opposite cell. He claimed that he had seen officers sitting on, standing on and jumping on Omasase. When officers realised he was watching, he said, he was moved and told not to tell anyone about what he had seen. The DPP has been urged to consider prosecuting those prison officers (still working at Pentonville) who were involved in the incident.

Only days after the verdict on Omasase, Joy Gardner was suffocated when police and immigration officers came to her flat to deport her. INQUEST

supports demands for a full, open and independent public inquiry into both of these violent deaths and a review of the powers to arrest, detain and imprison under the Immigration Act.

As the unlawful killings of Oliver Pryce (1990), Omasase Lumumba (1991) and Leon Patterson (1992) have demonstrated, there can be no confidence in a system that does not bring those responsible to justice despite clear evidence to show a criminal act has been committed. ■

Inquest, 330 Seven Sisters Road, London N4 2PG

■ Stop the detentions

The Campaign against Immigration Act Detentions (CAIAD) has recently been formed. Central to its concerns is the situation in Pentonville prison, where up to 80 people are currently being held under the Immigration Act.

The CAIAD makes disturbing allegations about the treatment of immigration prisoners. 'In Pentonville', it says, 'detainees are facing racist abuse, threats of violence and assaults from prison officers. One detainee had notes passed under his cell door with messages stating "The BNP are going to get you", and prison officers have boasted about their connections with fascist groups.'

'Detainees are also subjected to racist assaults by other prisoners while prison officers stand by, laugh, or turn on the victims. Recently an Algerian refugee was punched in the face by another prisoner who wanted to stop him using the phone. No action was taken by the authorities.'

Detainees have complained to CAIAD that the food they are given is inedible. Muslim prisoners say that are regularly given bacon or pork sausages, and that when they complain they are told: 'This is all you'll get, eat it, or eat nothing.'

Refugees who are devout Muslims say they have had prayer mats confiscated preventing them from praying, that prayer-time has been cut from two hours to 30 minutes, and that the Iman who leads Friday prayers has been denied access to the prison. Prisoners believe that harassment may be connected to the fact that several black prisoners have converted to Islam whilst in Pentonville.

Many detainees, some of whom are asylum-seekers, and already traumatised by torture and persecution, have been driven by the conditions to suicide attempts. Reliable sources within

Pentonville claim that there have been 80 attempted suicides in D-wing where asylum and immigration detainees are held. While the Home Office claims that there have been only four attempts at 'self-harm' in the last year, groups working with detainees are hearing of attempted suicides on an almost daily basis.

Several detainees who have complained about conditions claim that they have been labelled as mentally ill, placed in the prison hospital, and prescribed debilitating drugs.

Similar abuses are said to be taking place in prisons and detention centres across the country. The creation of 300 more detention places announced by the Home Office to coincide with the enforcement of the provisions of the Asylum and Immigration Appeals Act will only facilitate those abuses. And with a new upsurge in immigration raids, targeting both refugee communities and Asian and African-Caribbean communities, the fight to end all Immigration Act detentions is a vital one for the black and anti-racist movement, as a whole. ■

Campaign Against Immigration Act Detentions, c/o the Migrant Support Unit, 6-20 John's Mews, London WC1N 2XN, tel: 071-916 1646 or Migrants Media, tel: 071-254 9701.

■ Swansea police raids

Following a sexual assault by a man described as an Asian aged between 20 and 25, Swansea police quite literally trawled through the Asian community, photographing scores of young Asian men. Solicitor Ray Singh told CARF that the police went to the Haford Landor area of Swansea, where the Asian community is settled, banged on the doors of Asian homes in the early hours of the morning, and coerced young Asians into being photographed by using arguments like 'If you object, people will think you are suspects'. 14- and 15-year-olds were photographed, even though no adult gave consent. The police followed this up with visits to Asian restaurants, where they asked for photographs of all employees.

Following protests from the West Glamorgan Racial Equality Council, the police agreed to return the photographs, although their assertion that they kept neither negatives nor copies is being treated with scepticism. Lawyers for those photographed have met with the police, but have failed to gain a promise that this abuse of civil liberties will not happen again. ■

West Glamorgan CRC, 10 Mount Pleasant, Swansea SA1 6EE.



Jon Walter

From Grunwick to Burnsall – it's the same old union story

■ Racist unions divide the struggle

More than two months after the GMB betrayal at the Burnsall factory in Birmingham, 14 Asian strikers are determined to continue their fight for union recognition and against sweatshop employment conditions. Fifty-four weeks after the strike began, GMB officials called it off without even a vote, threatening strikers that if they did not abide by the decision, they would lose union backing for their industrial tribunal cases.

The GMB's view that the strike was 'going nowhere' was not shared by either the majority of strikers or the various support committees in places like Birmingham, London and Manchester. These were set up independently of the GMB by the black movement, which has bitter memories of a similar trade union betrayal at Grunwick in 1977.

The hostility of the GMB and the organised bureaucracies of the official trade union movement towards the strike

has been apparent from the beginning. Attempts to organise workers' boycotts and 'blacking' of Burnsall's products were half-hearted. Even the mass picket on the first anniversary of the strike was initially opposed by them.

Burnsall's is a tiny, tinpot factory employing just 26 workers. The GMB, with its 800,000 members, backed up by the TUC's 8 million, could crush these bosses and win the strike tomorrow if it had the political will to do so. The London Support Committee is correct to point out that 'officials were less interested in winning the strike than in keeping it within their control and preventing any wider involvement which might force them to listen to the demands of the strikers themselves'. GMB denunciations of the support committees, which mobilised support from the black communities, served only to further alienate black people from trade union activity.

There is no doubt that strikers faced a large element of racism from the trade union bureaucracy, as well as indifference from much of the Left, which failed to make the strike a priority.

The strikers hope that their lobby of the September TUC conference will force a change of heart by the GMB, and they are calling on supporters to demand that official status is restored to the strike. ■

Protest to John Edmonds, GMB, 22-24 Worple Road, Wimbledon, London SW19 4DD. Contact Birmingham Support Committee, c/o AEKTA Project, 346 Soho Road, Handsworth, Birmingham. Tel: 021-551 4679.

■ White rights: the rot spreads

Following our report on Sheffield council's attempt to evict Brian Mangle for racial harassment (see CARF No 15), things have taken a turn for the worse. Judge James Spencer has ruled that although Mangle used threatening behaviour when he attacked Somalian community worker Khader Hussein, there was no evidence that the attack was racially motivated (a police officer testified that Mangle had called Hussein a 'black bastard').

Mangle is now cock of the walk, for he knows that the court verdict will provide him with the boost he needs to avoid the eviction order.



CARF asked David Rose of the *Observer* to investigate the campaign by white tenants being organised on Mangle's behalf. 600 white families say they will go on rent strike if Mangle is evicted, and they even go as far as to claim that it is the beleaguered Somali families who have been harassing them.

In Bexley, could it be possible that the Tory-controlled council is thinking of running a 'Rights for Whites' campaign itself, in the unlikely event of its finally taking action against the BNP HQ in Welling? Tory leader Len Newton warned of a white backlash in Bexley as 'old ladies' are being attacked by 'black youth'. 'White residents are getting tired of having racism rammed down their throats', he warned. ■

• FASCIST ROUND-UP • FASCIST ROUND-UP • FASCIST ROUND-UP •

Cato conspiracy

Anti-fascists in Gravesend are celebrating the fact that leading Combat 18 member John Cato has moved out of the area. However, their successful campaign to raise awareness about Cato and Combat 18 has not been without a cost. Two anti-fascist campaigners are being charged under the Public Order Act with distributing an 'abusive and insulting' anti-fascist leaflet 'within the sight or hearing of a person likely to be caused harassment, alarm or distress'.

The Kent Anti-Fascist Committee, alongside the Gravesend Anti-Nazi League, launched a public awareness campaign, which included writing to councillors and local community groups, after Cato's name appeared in *Searchlight*.

The police had been well aware of Cato's activities locally (Cato produces the nazi magazine *The Oak* which is distributed through a Gravesend PO Box number) but were content to sit back and do nothing whilst racist attacks in the area escalated. An elderly Sikh man had to be put on a life support machine after a vicious attack. Two other elderly Sikhs were beaten up outside a pub by a gang of white youths. Racist graffiti appeared as well as C18 and British Defence League leaflets and stickers.

But when Kent anti-fascists leapt into action, the reaction of the police was swift. 'The police used their resources not to protect the local Asian community but to protect Cato: a 24-hour video surveillance was mounted at his home and a panic button direct to the police station installed', Kent Anti-Fascist Committee told CARF. The level of local opposition to this nazi skunk's presence in the area can be seen

by the fact that Cato's colleagues at AEI Cables in Northfleet sent him to Coventry.

Anti-fascists also suspect that Cato, before leaving town, was responsible for the distribution in Dartford of the British Defence League's *Nazi News* which openly states its purpose as to 'protect and serve the White Race in Britain from the hordes of non-whites, the White traitors, the Reds, the filthy queers, and all those that undermine Britain'. It publicises the full addresses and telephone numbers of its opponents; and urges its readers, in the strongest possible terms, to physically attack Reds ('Well, we have enough rope, and guts, to lynch every Red in Gravesend from a lamp post'). Funny, then, that the police should choose to prosecute anti-fascists for publishing a leaflet that does not state Cato's full address or telephone number and that certainly does not invite violence against him.

Gill Emerson and 80-year-old Reg Weston are to appear at Gravesend Magistrates' Court on 30 September. CARF urges its readers to support the demonstration on their behalf on that day.

The campaign is urgently in need of funds. Please send contributions to Gravesend Anti-racist Defence Campaign, c/o PO Box 88, Rochester, Kent, ME1 1AU.



Combat 18 activist charged

Another Combat 18 member could be on the move shortly – to prison we hope! Newham window cleaner Nicky Cooper, of Skipsey Avenue, East Ham, will be appearing in court on 24 September charged with violent disorder and assault occasioning actual bodily harm. Two other men have been charged alongside Cooper following an attack on a group of Asian youth in Mile End.

Meanwhile, in July, the CPS dropped charges against Eddie Whicker (see CARF no 15).

Anti-fascist attacked

On Saturday 7 August, following an unsuccessful attempt by fascists to waylay an anti-war march in central London, over 20 fascists attacked Tony, a prominent east London anti-fascist who they threatened to kill. Later that day, the fascists smashed the window of Tony's home.

Following further visits, Tony, who suffered internal injuries and lacerations to his neck during the attack, has decided to move.

Anti-fascists need to take note of this very serious attack.

Further information from Hackney Anti-fascists, Box 24, 136 Kingsland High Street, London E8.

Northern News

The Third Way has stepped up its activities in Leeds and Bradford, publishing *Northern Radical* and focusing its campaign around anti-Maastricht propaganda.

Leeds AFA has been monitoring the group's activities and says that, although it is well-organised, there are probably only six main activists, the most prominent being David Owens, formerly of the BNP and the NF. Owens, who has a conviction for incitement to racial hatred, lives in Rothwell, Leeds, and stood as a BNP candidate in 1986, after which he went to Liverpool where he organised Greenwave.

Rudolf Hess ~

WE'LL NEVER FORGET!

BRITISH MOVEMENT



P.O Box 6 Heckmondwike
West Yorkshire WF16 0XF

Other news from Leeds AFA is that while the NF seem now to have formally dissolved into the BNP the British Movement has reappeared on the scene – operating from Heckmondwike in West Yorkshire. The nazi fanzine *Sunwheel* is also distributed from there. Paul Jeffries in nearby Seacroft, who runs Life Rune Books, is also believed to be connected to the BM.

Leeds AFA produces a free broadsheet *Attitude* available from Leeds AFA, 52 Call Lane, Leeds LS1 6DT.

CLOSE DOWN THE BNP

National Unity Demonstration
Saturday 16 October

1pm Winns Common,
Plumstead, London SE18

Sponsored by ANL, YRE, Roland Adams Family, Rohit Duggal Family, CARF, NMP, SMG and many more.

Details:
071-924 0333/081-533 4533

FIGHT BACK

Come forward now and be trained to do your share. Every fit man owes this duty to himself and to his country.

ORGANISE NOW!

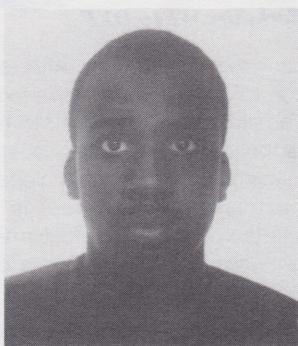
JOIN THE BDL

■ Justice for Oliver Campbell

Once again, the racist legal system has wrongly imprisoned a young black man. Oliver Campbell, serving a life sentence for murder and conspiracy to rob, went on hunger strike during July to protest his innocence while campaigners picketed Wormwood Scrubs in his support. From his prison cell, he wrote: 'I am on hunger strike to highlight my case and expose the injustice of the system which put me in prison for a crime I did not do!'

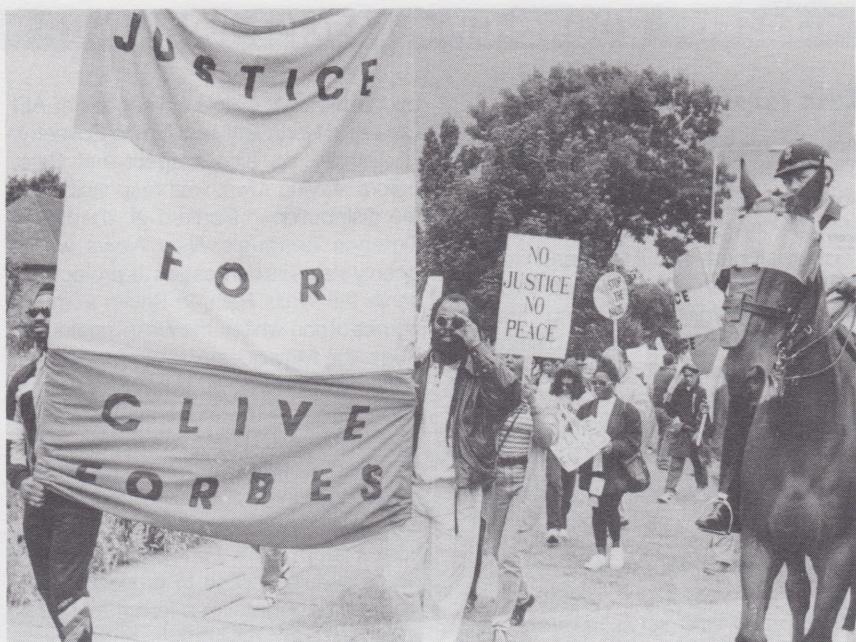
Oliver, from Stratford, east London, was convicted in 1991 of the murder of a Hackney shopkeeper which occurred during a robbery. Witnesses described the attackers as between 5' 8" and 5' 11". Oliver is 6' 4". A baseball cap identical to one that Oliver had once possessed was found on the roadside near to where the crime took place – but forensic investigations found hair in the hat that was not Oliver's.

Oliver's conviction depended heavily on confession evidence made without a solicitor present. As in the case of Stephen Miller of the Cardiff 3, he is also mentally disabled and very suggestible. The judge ruled that all confession evidence against Oliver was admissible, despite provisions in the Police and Criminal Evidence Act which state the need for caution if a case is substantially based on the confession of a person with a mental disability.



Now Oliver has been granted leave to appeal and his friends have joined campaigning groups in demanding the quashing of the murder charge. Among the supporters of the campaign is George Silcott, brother of Winston Silcott. At a press conference to launch the campaign, he condemned the hypocrisy of the British government, saying: 'John Major can intervene in Thailand to free two white drug smugglers, yet he will not free black men like Oliver and Winston who are innocent but are still in British jails.' ■

Justice for Oliver Campbell Campaign, PO Box 273, London E7. You can write to Oliver Campbell, MV3344, HMP Wormwood Scrubs, Du Cane Road, London, W12 0AE.



■ Clive Forbes Support Campaign

On 13 June, Clive Forbes was the victim of a vicious racist attack on the Wryley Birch Estate in Erdington, Birmingham. Clive was beaten about the head and ankles in the attack, which took place shortly after he and his pregnant partner Yvonne had been racially abused by a gang of white youths close to their home. He was then thrown from the flat window which was three levels up.

Clive needed an emergency life-saving brain operation and has had four operations on his leg. He was hospitalised for seven weeks and is now on crutches.

As a result of the attack, Yvonne had to leave the flat and is in temporary accommodation. She has recently given birth to their baby. Birmingham City Council is refusing to see the change in circumstances and the specific experience as sufficient for Yvonne to be allocated a house. It is only prepared to move her on to another estate, with the risk of further isolation. (She has been moved once before due to racist harassment.)

The campaign is demanding justice for Clive Forbes and his family.

- We demand the maximum sentences for Clive's attackers.
- We demand appropriate re-housing for Clive and Yvonne.
- We demand that the city council acts positively to end racist violence on its estates.

The campaign has forced the police to say publicly that the attack was racist. The local papers, which reported it as

such early on, are now trying to drop the race element.

The campaign has been meeting weekly since the attack and has had a march of more than 200 people on the estate, a lobby of the council, and a lobby of the courts, where two men have appeared charged with attempted manslaughter and burglary. ■

Clive Forbes Support Campaign, c/o Oakland Sport and Social Club, Oakland Road, Handsworth, Birmingham B21 0NA.

■ Fortress foul up

CARF's 'Fortress Foul Up' award goes this month to immigration officers in Norway.

Immigration checks in Norway proved an almost insurmountable hurdle for the Algerian athletic team, including world-famous athlete Noureddin Morceli, in July. Immigration officials at Fornebu airport refused to believe that the group were athletes, believing them to be illegal immigrants trying to do a fast sprint into the country. They were questioned for a marathon three hours before being allowed to enter Norway to take part in the Bislet games, a well-known sporting event.

A famous author? Winner of the Booker prize? A black man? Immigration officers refused to believe that the Nigerian Booker prize winner Ben Okri was not an illegal immigrant when he checked in at, you've guessed it, Fornebu airport. Ben Okri had to show his newscuttings, reviews of his books, etc, before being allowed to pass. ■

■ Kick racism out

As the football season kicked off in mid-August, the Commission for Racial Equality and the Professional Footballers Association launched a major new campaign, 'Let's kick racism out of football'. The launch received substantial mainstream news coverage of the type football rarely receives and forced sports slots openly to acknowledge racism.

All but 17 of the 91 professional clubs gave their support by reproducing campaign posters in their programmes. Of the 21 premier league clubs, Norwich and Southampton were the only two to withhold their support. Those who remember the Ron Noades affair (see CARF no 5) will not be surprised that Crystal Palace took the same stance.

This is the first time in the UK that clubs and players have taken such a concerted stance against racism. Despite assertions by the PFA's Brian Marwood that football took a stance against racism in the 1970s, the reality is that only individual players and managers spoke out.

In the 1980s, it has been football fans, at club level, inspired by the pioneering work of Leeds United Against Racism and Fascism (LUARF), who have been the ones shouting loudest about racism on the terraces – and on the boards of

management too! Groups like LUARF and the Scottish Campaign Against Racism in Football, and now the Leicester group, Foxes Against Racism, have in many ways created the space whereby such a high-profile campaign is possible, and where footballers can break through the rigid protocol of clubs which would not have liked the adverse publicity.

'The CRE/PFA have now placed on the agenda the racism black players face', a spokesperson for LUARF told CARF. 'But we hope that the campaign can now go further to talk about the whole structure and administration at the club level. It's also about having more black stewards, it's about developing community programmes, like we have here at Leeds, which actually go out to the black community and encourage them to use the club's facilities and it's about, above all, creating the atmosphere where fans – both black and white – can watch football in a tolerant atmosphere.'

What the fans seem agreed upon is that if the considerable resources of the PFA/CRE can be combined with the experiences and campaigning work of the fans themselves, then a pretty vital force can be created to kick racism out of football. A meeting between the CRE/PFA with the Football Supporters Association and the National



The fans' road to Wembley as seen by Foxes Against Racism, the anti-racist campaign among Leicester City fans. FAR has just produced its first fanzine, *Filbo Fever*. It costs 50p and is available from Foxes Against Racism, c/o 70 High Street, Leicester.

Federation of Supporters Clubs as well as the anti-racist fanzines themselves would be a good way towards realising that aim. ■

Leeds United Against Racism and Fascism can be contacted c/o Leeds Trades Club, Saville Mount, Leeds 7.

REVIEWS

The Irish migrant experience

These two pamphlets provide essential background reading for anti-racists on the Irish experience in the UK. Through case studies, they give concrete evidence of racial harassment, and the experiences of Irish people (including travellers) in claiming social security entitlement in the UK. The level of passport checks against the Irish, even though a passport is not a requirement for the Irish to enter the UK, parallels the black experience. But there is a particular tale here of a migrant community, whose discriminatory experience at the hands of the DHSS leaves it constantly having to prove its identity, marginalised, and trapped in poverty. Freedom of movement, a European-wide benefit system, clearly does not apply to the Irish.

The pamphlet on racial harassment is especially timely when the loyalist/fascist link is solidifying, and when fascists are increasingly mobilising against the Irish.

There is one problem though. The pamphlet seems to be addressed towards equal opportunity policy-makers in local authorities, and researchers in the Home Office, with the view to directing resources towards the Irish voluntary sector. The authors want to persuade race officers to see the harassment of the Irish as part of their brief.

But such a demand is not enough. Without campaigning work within the Irish community, this situation will persist ad infinitum. After all, racial harassment suffered by the black community did not just appear on local authority race agendas overnight, or because the Home Office wanted to be nice to black people. These institutions took the issue up because the black community forced them to. ■

Identity crisis: access to social security and ID checks and Racial attacks and harassment of Irish people from Action Group for Irish Youth, 5-15 Cromer Street, London WC1H 8LS.

Noticeboard

Bolton anti-racist festival: National festival of resistance against immigration controls, organised by the Rahman Family Defence Campaign, is being held on Sunday 12 September from 12 noon at Sunning Hill School, Derby Street.

Campaign Against Double Punishment is holding its second annual conference, 'Black prisoners: deportation and the racism of the criminal justice system', on Saturday 20 November at Cheetham Community School, Halliwell Lane, Cheetham Hill, Manchester.

The Palestine Solidarity Campaign has spare office space which it wants to share, off Holloway Road in north London. Rent is £237.50 a quarter. Contact Sue: 071-7006192.

Angola Emergency Campaign is holding a public meeting as part of its fortnight of solidarity with Angola. 'Angola: stop the terror, stop the tragedy': 30 September, 7pm at Friends Meeting House, Euston Rd, London NW1. Fortnight of solidarity from 29 September to 13 October. Details: 071-387 7966.

CALENDAR: RACE & RESISTANCE

June

- 16 Navnit Zinzuwadia found hanged in Leicester prison.
- 17 North London Hackney council's handling of rehousing Asian family because of racial harassment was a 'catalogue of mal-administration' says local government ombudsman.
- 18 Reported anti-Semitic incidents increased by 9 per cent in 1992 says Institute of Jewish Affairs report.
- 21 Edinburgh's Lord Provost advises Jean-Marie Le Pen to hold his extremist Euro MPs meeting elsewhere following successful campaign.
- 24 In 'Operation Boxer', police and immigration officers detain 30 alleged illegal immigrants in south London.
- 25 Black station forewoman accepts maximum £10,000 settlement from London Underground for racial and sexual abuse.

July

- 1 Under new Austrian law, foreigners with accommodation of less than a specified size may be summarily deported.
- 5 Yorkshire hotelier ordered to pay £8,000 damages to couple turned away on their honeymoon because the bridegroom was black.
- 9 Bristol City Council pays £10,000 compensation to family who suffered racial harassment from neighbours for 11 years ... Arson attempt made on house inhabited by foreigners in central German town of Gottingen.
- 11 Commission for Racial Equality to investigate Dundee council estate after increase in number of racial assaults ... German authorities say

that asylum laws brought in on 1 July have 'successfully tackled the refugee problem'.

- 13 Runnymede Trust report says that black school leavers are discriminated against in allocation of youth training places ... France passes tough new laws concerning foreigners' family rights and police expulsion powers.
- 14 Home Office minister Peter Lloyd says that racial attacks may be running at 130,000-140,000 per year, 20 times reported level ... Government introduces visa requirement on people in transit through UK from 10 countries, including Somalia, Sri Lanka and Turkey ... Asylum-seekers from former Yugoslavia go on hunger strike to protest Swedish government plans to send them back.
- 22 Black former soldier awarded £8,500 compensation for discrimination and racial abuse ... Extreme right-wing Dutch MP Hans Jammaat is charged with inciting racial hatred.
- 23 Home Office to deport 73 of 81 suspected illegal immigrants arrested on Kent fruit farm.
- 26 *Guardian* reports case of Colombian asylum-seeker refused entry to UK and sent back to Portugal because his flight made emergency landing in the Azores.
- 27 Former Home Secretary Kenneth Baker was guilty of contempt of court when he deported Zairean asylum-seeker, rules House of Lords.
- 29 CPS drops charges against two teenagers accused of murdering Stephen Lawrence because of 'insufficient evidence'.
- 3 More than 100 Jewish gravestones in Southampton cemetery attacked and daubed with anti-Semitic slogans.
- 8 Home Office and Metropolitan police announce joint review of deportation procedures following Joy Gardner's death.
- 10 200 graves in Allied military cemetery in Nijmegen, Holland, daubed with swastikas and neo-Nazi emblems.
- 12 Random police identity checks come into force in France.
- 14 France's Constitutional Council rejects 8 provisions of new immigration law because they deprive foreigners of basic rights.
- 15 3,000 neo-Nazis defy ban on demonstration to commemorate death of Rudolph Hess.
- 17 Relatives of a woman in Walsall say she became unconscious during deportation arrest by immigration officers ... Angolan man fearing deportation jumps to his death in the Seine while trying to evade identity check ... Father of Iranian refugee dies after being refused treatment after row over bill at Hammersmith hospital.
- 18 Number of prisoners committing suicide has increased by 25% over last 10 years says Howard League for Penal Reform ... 300 Sikh fruit-pickers demonstrate in Sint Truiden, Belgium, following racial attacks ... 400 African fruit-pickers in Stornara in Italy were forced to flee after attacks.
- 19 Inquest returns lack of care verdict on Munir Majothi who died in a hospital seclusion unit in York after being given a series of sedative injections in June 1992.
- 20 Newsagents Federation survey shows large-scale racial harassment and violence against newsagents.
- 21 Westminster city council refuses education grants to asylum-seekers.

August

- 3 More than 100 Jewish gravestones in Southampton cemetery attacked and daubed with anti-Semitic slogans.

You missed the lowdown on

- Racial harassment in Britain
- Gay rights in Europe
- Racism in the UK legal system
- Executive tax dodging
- Unions in South Africa
- Civil rights for disabled people
- The Tories' anti-union laws

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Far Right: building its European power base

European Parliament elections will be held at a time when the far Right's strength is growing (particularly in Belgium, France, Germany and Italy). A brief survey of the local, regional and national elected bases that the far Right has in these countries.

Local representation of the far Right

Access to public funds and local resources to be used for campaigning.

Access and growth: Access to local and national networks. Access to local, national and local media.

Influence: Gaining a racist party encourages far-right-wing parties to be in control of a local government's direct implementation of policies.

Protection and protection: Having a platform to racism which then becomes legitimised and legally

BELGIUM

Local representatives Vlaams Blok (VB), Belgian Front National

Parliament VB 12; BFN 1

National parliament VB: 6 senators, 5 provincial and municipal councillors.

Share of the vote (1991 general election)

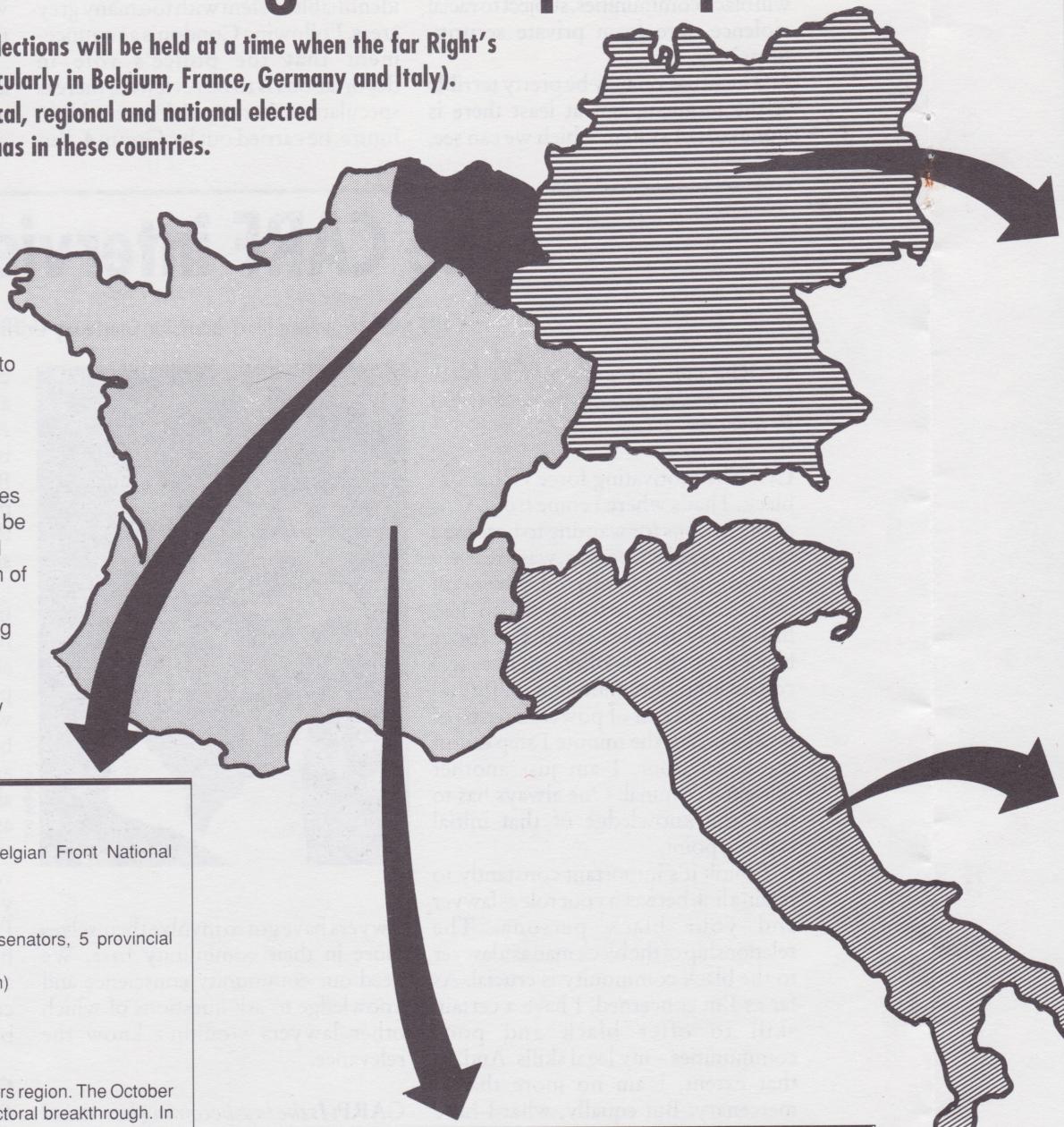
VB 6.6%; BFN 1.1%

Local elections VB 10.3%

FN 16.7%

VB 25.5%

Antwerp City and the Flanders region. The October elections gave VB its first electoral breakthrough. In Antwerp it won 10 municipal seats (it also won 42 seats on the list within the city). Another 13 seats were won in areas close to Antwerp in the Flanders region. From then on, the VB was able to build up the level of support it had gained since November 1991. Indications are that support has continued to grow since then, and success in the European elections will lead to yet greater gains for the VB in the local elections in autumn 1994.



FRANCE

Far-right party Front National (FN)

MEPs 10

National parliament None

Other elected representatives 239 regional councillors, 804 municipal councillors.

Share of the vote

Regional elections March 1992: 13.9% (3,396,141)

Parliamentary elections March 1993: 12.5% (3,158,843)

Local bases The FN has several local electoral bases solidified by concentrations of local representatives in either a local or regional council. For instance, in March 1992, the FN won 34 of the 123 regional council seats in the Provence-Alpes Côte d'Azur region. These local bases stood it in good stead a year later in the general election. In areas where it polled well in 1992 (eg, the Ile-de-France region, which includes Paris), the FN vote was only slightly down in 1993. Despite not gaining any seats, the FN did better than ever before in terms of votes at a parliamentary election. The regional/local councils are providing an alternative electoral/political base to parliament for the FN. There is every reason to suppose that this local base will serve a similar role in the European elections, where the PR voting system could translate 3 million votes into a number of seats.

Far-right parties None
Deutschlands (NPD) 1 MEPs 6 (originally unaffiliated).
National parliament None
Other elected representatives None
Regional parliament None
1991 election); Schleswig-Holstein (1992 election); Baden-Württemberg (1992 election); Baden-Württemberg (1992 election); Berlin: No seats won.
Local councils The NPD has 10 seats in the Bremen regional council, 10 councillors in eight districts.
Local bases In addition to the 370 REP councillors elected in March 1992 in the principal city of Berlin, there are 100 in the May 1992 local elections. Therefore, mindfully, the far-right parties have small bases in Hessen and Schleswig-Holstein in the last two years, but have local bases in the 100 districts.

Far-right parties MSI 4; Northern League 4
National parliament None
Regional councils None
Local bases None

Municipal councils The MSI-DN gained control of the town of Turin, including Vercelli, Ivrea, and Milan.

Share of the vote MSI 4.5% (1 seat in parliament); Northern League 4.5% (1 seat in the European parliament). The MSI has grown enormously since it had 8.1% in the 1992 year's local elections. The electoral growth of the MSI is due to the localities it has registered under the PR system (one seat in the European parliament). The MSI has 100 overseas Italians.

Local bases Local bases have power against the local councils under the Northern League. It is clearly treated as a legitimate party. With the fluid situation in elections, the League

Build mass organisations

The continued success of the far-right in Italy, the Northern League, by racists. In Germany, where the fascists are still strong. One key ingredient is the effective mass organisation. In months, a militant organisation together, the trend can be halted and reversed.